487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp. When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru, Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used. They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few times until they have soaked up too much water. On the Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim (No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

491 by cutting it down, causing it to fall across both edges of the brook. If necessary, a rope of lianas is spanned across next to the bridge to help the traveler maintain his balance when walking over it. I have seen several such tree bridges in Uha where there are more trees than in Urundi. There are no suspension bridges.

In the whole interlacustrine region I have not seen any real bridges built by the natives themselves. Yet van der Burgt describes such a bridge: a few fork-shaped poles are rammed next to each other in the stream bed, and a few long pieces of timber are placed in the forks approximately parallel to each other, thus spanning the entire stream. A great number of crossbeams, approximately two meters long, are fastened to these, and finally bundles of reed or papyrus stalks are tied on top of them so that one may comfortably walk across.

Wherever missionary stations or colonial troops have built roads, there are solid wooden bridges on the European model, and wherever the route traverses swamps, there are earthen dams and corduroy roads. However, the lack of trees in this country will always be an obstacle to the construction of bridges.

The natives always make the cattle swim through the water or wade through the swamps even when bridges exist. Any crocodiles which may be in the vicinity are frightened away by shouting.

482 Since neither the Barundi nor the Banjaruanda have animals to ride or burden-carrying animals, all burdens and also people who are unable or unwilling to walk have to be carried by men. Burdens are packed in small or large bundles, generally wrapped in dry banana leaves, or in large baskets made of plaited bast. They are carried freely on the head or sometimes, for a change, on the shoulder but never in a sling or net on the back as, for example, in Kisiba or in Usámbiro.

493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
●482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
295 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
[462] keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given
854 [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time
● [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 784 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic conceptions.

3. Missions

797 563 The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave," the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the [139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons, and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.

797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men (abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and organizations form a network over the entire land. Although

797 735 737 888 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives" No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

2: Meyer--235 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 1

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Highland Pasture in Southwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Waterfall in the Eastern Peripheral Mountains of
Lake Tanganyika, West Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

2: Meyer--237 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 3

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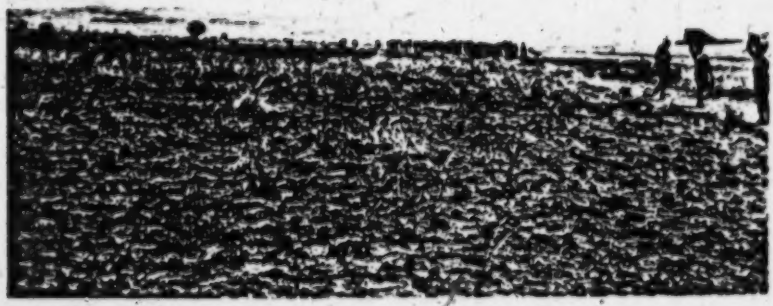
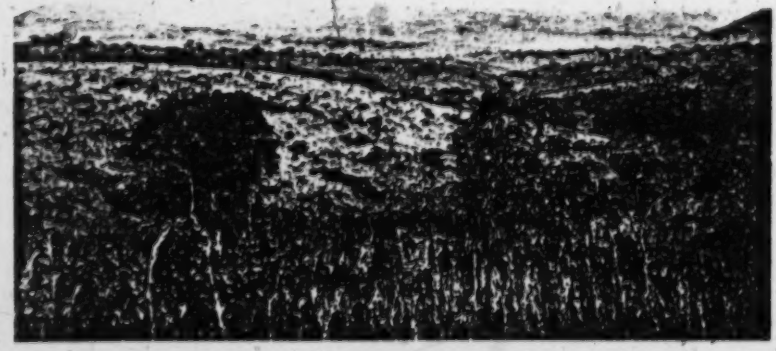
[482]



Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kajongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 5

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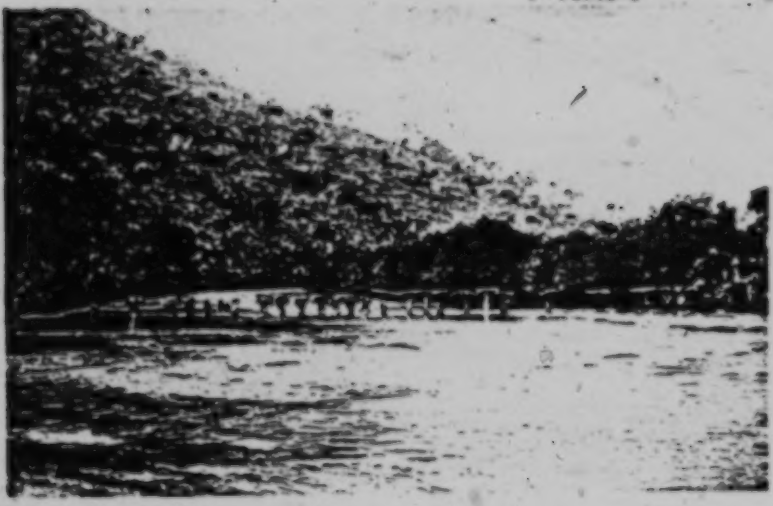

Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 21

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Barundi Carrying Bamboo Poles for House Construction, near Gitega, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Homestead with Fig Trees for Barkcloth, East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--261 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--285 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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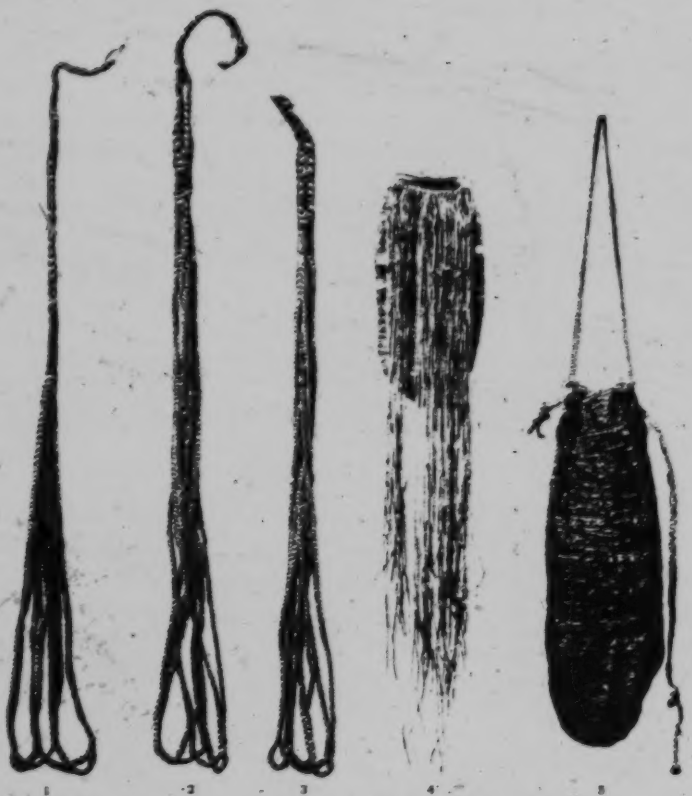

Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

644 634 64 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [482] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

644 556 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 356 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 701 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

5: Pages--271 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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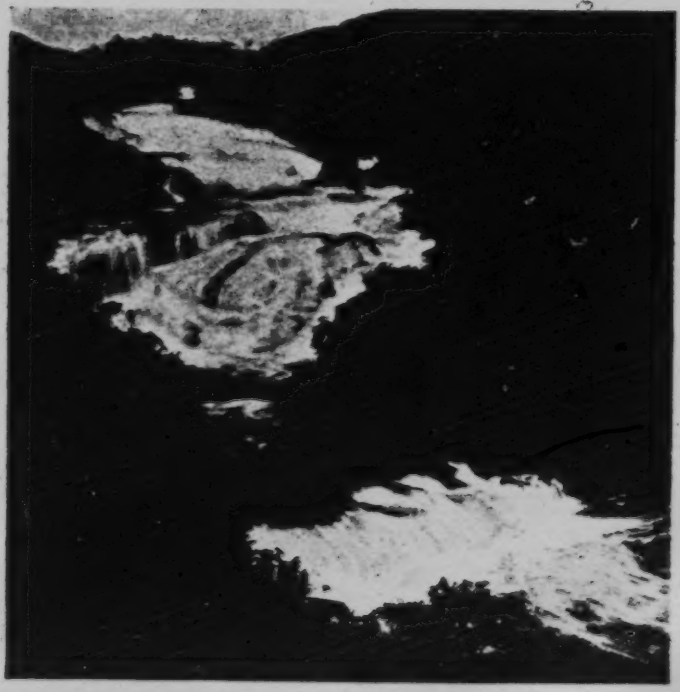
An arm of Lake Mugessera.



Rapids in the Mukungwu in the Mulera region.

5: Pages--272 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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On the shores of the Nzabarongo.

5: Pagès--275 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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A volcanic landscape. The Nyiragongo and its plume of smoke.

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Muchabura and Gahinga.

5: Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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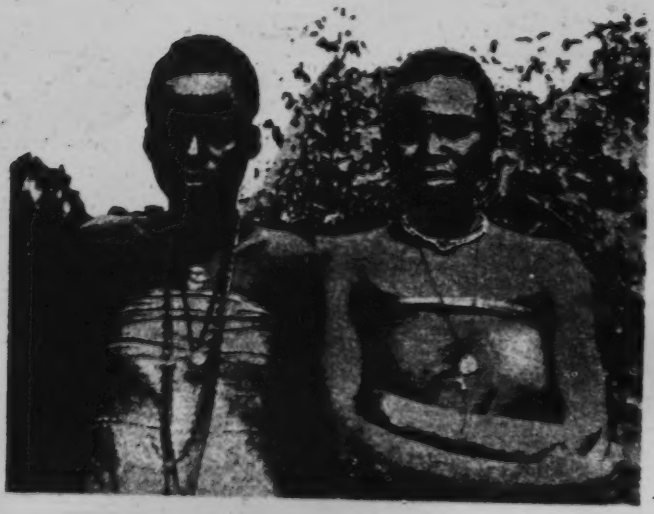
Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

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Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

482 415 285 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

487 438 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [483] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42
Hutu

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562 564 241 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields. During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food [251] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the [574] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her 517 mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 512 564 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning, the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for [264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her [313 415 482] neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on [356] the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house. [606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need [574] for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 564 593 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will